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ABSTRACT

The survey reviews recent research on political behavior in Japan and describes the nature and institutional setting of political science in Japan. Political science is regarded as a small academic discipline which is frequently an adjunct to another academic department within a university. Political scientists in Japan have exhibited less interest in political behavior than in more traditional areas of research, but this lack of interest has been offset somewhat by political survey research by nonacademic organizations. Scholars who do research in comparative political behavior prefer one of two models: (1) sociological (which ascribes political behavior to socioeconomic factors), or (2) psychological (which postulates the importance of mental attitudes as major influences in political action and choice). Scholars using the sociological interpretation concentrate on basic sociopolitical cleavages, political partisanship, value systems, and class makeup of political parties. Those preferring psychological interpretations deal most often with party identification and loyalty, political socialization, and attitudinal and community influences on voting. A section on contemporary trends in political behavior suggests that, although political attitudes still reflect Japan's unstable political history, some patterns of convergence between Japanese and western political culture can be noted as Japan begins to experience a post-industrial emphasis on political performance instead of party labels. (Author/DB)

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Survey Research on Political Behavior in Japan:

A Comparison of Western and Japanese Models of Political Behavior

Part I: Voting Behavior

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The Study of Political Behavior in Japan

This is a survey of recent research on mass political behavior in Japan.[1] The purpose of this essay is to introduce to persons who do not read Japanese the main orientations and findings of a body of research not normally available to them. To do this, the findings from a fairly large number of studies of political behavior in Japan have been pulled together and compared with some of the central hypotheses of comparative political behavior research. In order to best understand the emphases of political behavior studies in Japan, the institutional setting and "sociology" of Japanese political science research are also examined.

The Development of Political Science in Japan. The state of a particular scientific inquiry is often dependent to a considerable degree on the support and the nature of rewards provided by its institutional setting. In the case of political behavior research in Japan, the institutional setting is comparatively weak. This does not mean that the quality of political behavior research in Japan is also deficient. But the institutional setting is one factor to be taken into account in understanding how political behavior studies have progressed.

Political science is a comparatively young academic discipline in Japan, and, as a result, the size of the field is quite small, particularly when numerical comparisons are made with the United States. There are currently slightly over 600 political scientists in Japan, according to the membership lists of the Japan Political Science Association. In contrast, the American political science community numbers somewhere between 11 and 12 thousand persons.

When the position of political science within Japanese universities is compared with that for the United States, similar kinds of differences emerge. For example,

for every political scientist in Japan in 1973, there were 3,200 students enrolled in institutions of higher education. In the United States, the comparable ratio was 1:698![2] The numbers of political scientists among total numbers of university instructors in the two countries indicates similar differences. There are simply far fewer political scientists relative to university staffs and student populations in Japan than in the United States.

The trends in numbers of political scientists in these two countries are reflected in another important fact: there are very few independent political science faculties in Japan in comparison with their substantial number in the United States. Although it must be remembered that political science is more developed as an independent discipline in the United States than in any other country in the world, it is still important to note that most Japanese political scientists are found in law faculties or in other departments within the Japanese university system.

A second important feature of political science in Japan, in addition to its comparatively younger stage of development, is the heavy emphasis among political scientists on "traditional" concerns such as political philosophy and political history. For example, about one third of all political science writing in Japan over the past decade has been concerned with political history. (This sub-field, according to the classification system of the Japan Political Science Association bibliographies, also includes writings on contemporary political history.) An additional one quarter of Japanese political science scholarly output in recent years has been in the area of political philosophy. When works in public administration are added, what might be called the traditional sector of Japanese political science scholarship constituted roughly 70 percent of all political science writings in recent years (Table 1).[3]

Research in areas closer to the contemporary American, and to some degree European, main stream in political science research--international relations, political process and mass and elite political behavior--consequently accounted for less than one third of political science scholarship in Japan in the last decade. Within this general area, international relations was the most emphasized field, and accounted for 15 percent of all political science output on the average. Research on political parties and political processes occupied a smaller share (9 percent of total political science while research on political behavior itself constituted an extremely modest 3 percent of scholarly efforts within the political science field. (An additional five percent of political science scholarship was concerned with "general" political science and/or less easily classifiable research.) In relative terms, at least, there was fairly little interest in political behavior in Japan in the years under review.

The Multi-Disciplinary Nature of Political Behavior Research in Japan. Both the fact that political science is a numerically small discipline in Japan and the heavy concentration within political science on traditional research mean that comparatively few persons in Japan have engaged in political behavior research. Still, there have been important studies of political behavior in Japan, and the overall amount of research has not been insignificant. The reasons for this state of affairs are fourfold. First, some prominent traditional political scientists have become interested in political behavior research as a second research field. Secondly, there are very important contributions to political behavior scholarship from outside of political science. Thirdly, survey research in general is very highly developed in Japan, and some non-academic organizations like the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, The Institue for Statistical Mathematics and the Clean Election League have sponsored mass political behavior research.

Table 1. Political Science Scholarship in Japan, 1965-74

	General Political Science	Political Theory	Political History	Public Administration	International Relations	Political Process	Political Behavior
1966	33	111	217	91	68	18	7
1967	22	141	225	86	82	94	11
1968	23	170	239	39	71	115	10
1969	15	192	231	29	77	74	18
1970	31	142	234	65	131	34	11
1971	45	176	238	36	145	40	13
1972	55	168	223	51	109	31	19
1973	26	192	214	49	105	56	21
1974	61	147	128	105	88	45	25
Total	331 (5%)	1439 (25%)	1949 (34%)	551 (9%)	876 (15%)	507 (9%)	135 (3%)

Source: Annual Bibliographies of the Nihon Seijigakkai (Japan Political Science Association), published by Fukumaru Shuppansha, 1967-74, and Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1975.

The total number of articles and books reported between 1966 and 1974 was 5786. This number indicates the high levels of productivity of Japanese political scientists despite their fewer numbers.

Finally, there is a small group of fairly young scholars within Japanese political science highly committed to political behavior research.

The contribution of scholars from other disciplines to political behavior research in Japan is especially noteworthy. Actually, less than half of the individuals who engaged in political behavior research over the past decade in Japan were located in law or political economy faculties and could be assumed actually to be political scientists (Table 2). Roughly sixty percent of the persons who published political behavior findings in some form were from other fields, with psychology and sociology being the leading contributors.

This infusion of interest from the ranks of sociologists and psychologists actually has had very fortuitous effects on Japanese political behavior scholarship. Like political behavior research in other countries, there has been a strong conceptual and methodological contribution from outside political science at a critical point in the development of political behavior research. And probably as in Europe even more than in the United States, the contribution was direct in the form of frequent participation by non-political scientists in political behavior research.

The Role of Organizations in Japanese Political Behavior Research.

Another important factor to the growth of mass political behavioral research in Japan has been the contribution made by organizations which themselves were not attached to universities nor a normal part of the academic community. The most important groups of this kind in Japan have been the Japan Broadcasting Corporation's (NHK) Public Opinion Research Institute and the Clean Election League, a private organization closely affiliated with Japan's Home Ministry-run election administration. The NHK's research effort in the political behavioral

Table 2. Political Behavior Research in Japan by Faculty of Researcher, 1966-72[a]

Faculty	Number of Scholars	Number of Publications
Law	17	66
Political Economy	6	22
Psychology	10	48
Sociology	9	26
General Education	4	12
Economics and Commerce	2	9
Education	3	3
Japan Broadcasting Association	5	16
Unknown	2	5
Total	58	207

[a]The sources of these figures is an analysis of all political behavior writings which we were able to identify during the surveyed period. Publications of the Clean Election League were omitted from this effort due to problems of separating reports of scholarly content from those which were mainly administrative in nature.

field has included surveys after major elections over the past decade, as well as inclusion of political attitude coverage in numerous other surveys. The Public Opinion Research Institute is itself staffed by social scientists, and also has often invited established scholars in the field to participate in its political behavior research. The Clean Election League, although not directly managed by professional social scientists, has run fifteen national surveys beginning in 1958 which focused on voting choice behavior, communications exposure, general political attitudes and election practices.[4] Since the early 1960s the League has also sponsored the Election Analysis Research Society (Senkyo Chosa Kenkyukai), a group of scholars who conducted political behavior research with League funds or who advised the League's own national survey research projects. Because both the League's research program and that of the NHK have ultimately been closely linked with the interests of private scholars, the activities of these two groups have played an especially important, direct role in scholarly research on political behavior in Japan. Moreover, since both of these groups had favorable resource situations compared to those of many individual scholars, the conduct of national surveys of the NHK and the Clean Election League was also of clearly more than incidental importance. In fact, the main body of political behavior research in Japan employing national samples was conducted by these two organizations.[5]

Other Aspects of Political Behavior Research in Japan. It has been said repeatedly that Japanese society is parochial in some senses. Whatever the empirical validity of this observation about general aspects of Japanese society, there have certainly been some parochial features of political behavior research efforts in Japan. These parochial tendencies were most clearly visible in regard to the communication and publication of research findings. In effect, there were comparatively few examples of visible communications between persons working on

political behavior within different universities. For example, only a small number of papers are presented at the annual meetings of the Japan Political Science Association, and in the years under review political behavior research findings were the topic of panels on only two occasions. In addition, regional meetings among Japanese political scientists are much less frequent than those of other social science disciplines in Japan. Consequently, opportunities for public discussion of political behavior findings within the scholarly community itself are relatively limited.

A somewhat similar pattern of weakness in scholarly communications obtains with regard to publication in professional journals. There is no national political science journal as such in Japan, although the Japan Political Science Association does publish the major papers from each year's annual meetings in the form of a yearbook. (Similar yearbooks also exist in psychology and social psychology and have carried the works of scholars working on political behavior.) However, contrasting with the scarcity of national outlets for political behavior findings there is an abundance of local university and individual faculty journals.[6] This proliferation of local journals does mean that Japanese scholars have adequate outlets for their research findings. (Indeed, the works of the fifty four scholars we identified in the political behavior field between 1966 and 1976 appeared in no less than 74 journals!) At the same time, local journals are not widely circulated, with the consequence that, formally at least, the research publication process is still relatively parochial in nature. Obviously, individual scholars can and do exchange reprints and copies of their work. But the diffusion function performed by national and regional journals is not adequately performed by the in-house publications characteristic of the Japanese political science setting.

There are also some factors offsetting the parochial nature of social science journal publication opportunities in Japan. For example, opportunities for scholars to publish in popular intellectual journals or to make contributions via the mass media are considerably greater in Japan than they are in the United States. Although the number of cases where detailed findings are published in these kinds of outlets is probably fairly small, still the contribution by scholars engaged in behavioral research to intellectual journals and to the media function to some degree to bring greater attention to political behavior research as a field of inquiry.[7]

Another factor facilitating communications between scholars from different university faculties has been the prevalence of team studies in the field of political behavior research. Although it was hard for us to quantify the contribution of team research, it was clear from our survey that many of the important research efforts, not the least of those being the works sponsored by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation and the Clean Election League, have been team efforts. As in the case of other national settings, the cost and scope of the survey research enterprise involved in studying political behavior have led to group research. Group research has in turn facilitated cross-university and cross-disciplinary communications in many instances.[8]

Intellectual Concerns and Methodology. Political behavior research in Japan has been strongly influenced by Western social science. Quite a few persons studying political behavior have employed the psychological approach with its heavy emphasis on attitudinal factors which are believed to influence behavior. Included in this grouping are several persons who have studied or visited in the Michigan political behavior program. Sociological paradigms of political behavior are also popular in Japan among political scientists and political sociologists. The discussion of research findings in subsequent parts of this

paper will largely be organized around the Japanese scholarly "response" to these Western models and hypotheses.

Indigeneous concerns have also been important in Japanese political behavior research. Whereas Western approaches have heavily influenced models of behavior used in Japanese political behavior research, native concerns have often determined topical emphasis. For example, there has been a pronounced interest among Japanese scholars and thinkers in identifying contemporary Japanese values; indeed, an acute cultural sensitivity is found in several areas of scholarship and intellectual activity in Japan. This has meant that political culture studies have been popular in Japan, and that the relationship between general values, political values and political behavior has received heavy emphasis.

Japanese scholarship is also very sensitive to issues of change. In part this concern focuses on the very visible shift in Japanese value systems consequent upon industrialization, urbanization and the postwar occupation efforts at cultural change through curriculum revision. The more dynamically oriented cultural analyses of political behavior in Japan consequently seek to trace the effects of traditional and modern value systems on behavior and partisanship.

An additional factor contributing to scholarly interest in change in Japan has been the highly visible link between aggressive economic development, population movements, high growth related problems such as inflation, pollution and inadequate living and transportation facilities, and movements in party support. This has led to analyses of the effects across time of evaluations of government economic policies, and quality of life attitudes and trends in partisanship.

An important facet of Japanese political behavior research has also been the strong emphasis on intensive local studies at the expense of nationwide surveys. As was noted earlier, groups like the Clean Election League and the Japan

Broadcasting Association have conducted many important national surveys. However, these studies are an exception to the general rule. Research within the academic community proper in Japan has almost universally been local in focus. While the main constraint affecting choices of local research settings has certainly been the limited availability of resources, the result has been a continuation in Japan of the style of research found in the Columbia studies of voting behavior in Elmira and Erie County in the 1940s. Japanese political behavior research is consequently rich in its detailing of important contextual features of the research setting. Also the extensive in-depth analyses of political behavior within particular urban or rural communities has served as a balance to the inevitable contextual superficiality of national studies.

To no small degree the emphasis on local studies has also dovetailed with the more general concern for tracing patterns of change in Japanese political culture and political behavior. Thus, many studies of local communities or specific groups in Japanese society (such as unionized labor) have reflected the "targeting" choices of persons concerned with change and the role of particular population sectors and groups in change. Although it will be impossible to cite all of these local studies here, it is important to remember their existence and their unique kind of contribution to an understanding of the contextual bases of behavior.

The discussion that follows is organized mainly around central themes in comparative political behavior and political culture research. That means that the concepts mentioned are in many cases those of Western studies or their Japanized counterparts (e.g., the assumption of the presence of a "cultural cleavage"). However, we have also tried to give fair due to the special topical concerns of Japanese scholars with the effects on political behavior of the native social, cultural and political setting.

Sociological Models of Political Behavior

The Basic Socio-Political Cleavage. European and American political sociology has sought to explain party affiliation and partisan choice on the basis of the assumed effects on mass attitudes and behavior of deep-rooted cleavages between social groups. Under the influence of Marx and others, the Western political sociological tradition has postulated that conflict between social classes, or differences between religious or other major social groupings, is the basic factor in partisanship. In many cases the sociological paradigm has been applied by Japanese scholars. However, the Japanese political sociologists' findings differ in substance and interpretation from most Western studies.

There are clearly stable social group correlates of partisan support in Japan. Support for Japan's largest party, the Liberal Democrats, has consistently been greater in rural districts than in the cities while support for opposition parties has been more common in the cities and all areas having high population densities (Nishihira 1972). Moreover, a systematic, monotonic relationship between occupational categories and party support ordered on a right-to-left scale can be observed if the "traditional" hierarchy of occupations is reordered so that farmers are above white collar workers in "status" (Miyake 1970). Still, multiple anomolies distinguish the social correlates of partisanship in Japan in comparison with Western theory and findings from most industrialized societies (other than those from recent analyses of post-bourgeois tendencies among youths). Farmers, small enterprise owners and workers in Japan's substantial small firm sector are the core of Liberal Democratic Party support, while other blue collar workers, students and white collar employees are the strongest supporters of the opposition (typically leftist) parties. Thus, many persons from the "objective" middle class in Japan, actually

a majority in the important white collar category, are followers of working class parties, while a very large minority of workers support Japan's major middle class party. These patterns are reflected in a particular dramatic way by the correlations between education and party support. Conservative party support actually decreases with higher education corresponding to an increase of opposition preferences among persons of higher levels of educational attainment (Hayashi 1975).

Some studies have attempted to account for these tendencies in the objective social correlates of partisanship in Japan by examination of the relationships between subjective class identifications and party support. While it is true that persons identifying themselves as members of middle and upper classes more commonly support the Liberal Democratic Party, still 40 percent of persons in this group prefer the Japan Socialists and an additional 11 percent are followers of other middle-of-the-road or leftist opposition groups. Some of the same tendencies toward deviation from the expectations of sociological theory can be seen among persons who see themselves as members of the working class. In this instance, 60 percent of self-identified workers do support leftist parties. Still, a lingering 27 percent of people in this group support the Liberal Democratic Party (Miyake 1967). Thus, while the amount of deviation is lower when subjective indicators for social class are employed instead of objective categories, there are still important departures from the sociological hypotheses in the Japanese case. The phenomenon of working-class Tories is not exclusively British!

A Mobilizational Interpretation of the Social Correlates of Partisanship. Obviously there are distinctive patterns of partisanship among persons in different social groupings in Japan even though a conventional sociological explanation of partisanship does not fit so well. An alternative explanation to the conventional

class cleavage hypothesis for the patterns of party support in Japan has been put forth by persons who, like Sartori (1968), stress the effects of specific patterns of party mobilization on party support.[9] This interpretation is applied most successfully where the effects of labor union membership are examined. Union members and families of union members strongly support leftist parties (Miyake 1967). Moreover, persons in unions oriented specifically toward one or another of the leftist parties usually support the party supported by their union or its national federational affiliate.

The patterns of unionization in Japan help explain some of the instances where Japanese party support deviates from traditional political sociological theory. In an especially valuable analysis of the aggregate trends of partisanship in social groups in Japan, Watanuki (1968) has shown how closely the high levels of unionization among white collar employees in Japan are paralleled by trends in leftist sentiments among persons in this category. Indeed, the fact that Japanese white collar workers are union members as often as are their blue collar counterparts is central to recent patterns of partisanship in Japan. A very strong tendency for non-unionized labor to manifest distinctive patterns of party support from unionized workers could also be seen throughout much of the postwar period. As a result, non-unionized labor was typically a source of support for the Liberal Democratic Party.

Value Systems and Political Cleavages. In addition to this organizational or mobilizational theory of party support in Japan, there has also been a substantial concern for the link between alternative value systems and contemporary patterns of party support. While not eschewing the view that different specific patterns of electoral mobilization go a long way to explain the patterns of partisanship among certain social groups in Japan, some scholars also note that persons

subscribing to "traditional" values more often support the conservative party while, correspondingly, persons accepting modern value positions tend more toward leftist parties (Miyake 1967, Kohei 1974, Akuto 1975).[10] A substantial number and variety of question items are included in the traditional-modern value scales used in different studies but commonly the "traditional" values correlating with conservative party support include respect for imperial institutions, support for the concept of Japan as a familial society and the family as a dominant social institution, opposition to conflict and to conflictual forces in society (i.e., labor union strikes and leftist demonstrations) and concern for the importance of moral education in the schools. Some research has also shown that there is a strong and clear linkage between religious faith and practice and partisanship. Those believing in a god or gods and attending religious ceremonies are much more commonly Conservative Party supporters and persons who are less religious tend strongly toward the progressive parties (Hayashi 1975).

The research we have reviewed indicates that the Japanese partisan "cleavage" is based on patterns in political mobilization among different social groups in Japanese society. The trends in partisanship among persons in different social groups are also related to differences in basic cultural values. What seems lacking in the Japanese case is the eruption into politics of a deep-rooted societal cleavage, such as reputedly has been more obviously present in such nations as the Netherlands and Britain. Putting the point differently, there is a <u>mobilized</u> socio-political cleavage in Japan rather more than a "natural" one. Although it is true that the different socio-political sectors of Japanese society are divided with regard to cultural norms, there is little evidence of the pervasive inter-class and inter-religious antagonisms that have been reported in several European countries.

Inter-Partisan Political Differentiation. The presence of a mobilized and to some extent "value based" cleavage in Japan begs the question of the degree to which the different political camps are actually differentiated on political grounds. To what degree is the Japanese partisan cleavage reflected in different attitudes on basic political issues? In addition, to what extent do Japanese in the conservative camp strongly oppose the leftist parties in their attitudes, and how greatly do leftist adherents dislike the conservatives?

Japanese conservatives and progressives are in fact differentiated with regard to some issue positions and also assessments of the quality of the Liberal Democratic government's performance. Across elections, the issue content of party support has naturally varied somewhat. However, there is also some continuity. Two fairly constant themes differentiating conservatives and progressives over time have been attitudes regarding Japan's relations with the United States and evaluations of the conservative government's responsibility for consumer price inflation (Kohei 1972). Conservative party supporters tend to accept the continuation of a close security relationship between Japan and the United States, while supporters of the leftist parties reject this idea as the basic formula for promoting Japan's security in varying degrees. Liberal Democratic supporters are also consistently more prone to absolve their party from responsibility for recent inflationary trends than are persons who support other parties. There is also a clear pattern of differentiation between Liberal Democrats and opposition party supporters on a general progressive-conservative issue scale (Kohei 1974).

Although there is more to be said on the subject of issues and partisanship in Japan, clearly the basic partisan cleavage does have a relationship with differences on issue attitudes at some points. Additional evidence points to the presence of feelings of psychological distance between partisans of different

camps in Japan. In other words, there is a tangible affective dimension to the patterns of partisanship in Japan as well as some link to issues. Thus, supporters of the Liberal Democratic, Democratic Socialist and Clean Government parties are strongly antagonistic toward the Japanese Communist party while Japan Communist Party adherants reciprocate by opposing the Liberal Democrats, Democratic Socialists and Clean Government parties in their attitudes (Miyake 1970, Miyake 1967). These patterns of antagonism, based on answers to questions about least liked parties or parties which would never be supported in an election, do confirm the presence of a dividing line between the progressive and conservative camps in Japan. The dividing line in these inter-partisan affect attitudes tends clearly to be between the right and middle parties on the one hand and the party to the furthest left traditionally, the Japan Communists, on the other. Interestingly, tensions at the actitudinal level between the Liberal Democratic Party's supporters and partisans of the Japan socialist Party are actually fairly moderate! Although a substantial number of Japan Socialist followers dislike the Liberal Democrats, they are even more often opposed to the Japan Communists! The attitudes of Liberal Democratic supporters toward the Japan Socialists are similarly moderate in tendency.[11]

Psychological Interpretations of Japanese Voting Behavior

Sociological models see people's social group memberships and positions in social stratification systems as the well-spring of their political behavior. Psychological approaches, in contrast, postulate the importance of mental attitudes as the main influences in political action and choice. Moreover, the social psychological branch of psychology which has dominated much political behavior research within the psychological mode, looks to attitudes as the outcome of social processes and as the link between social conditions and behavior.

Party Identification in Japan. Party identification--people's psychological loyalties to a political party--is the major motivating attitude in people's voting choices according to many American studies of mass political behavior. Although not the exclusive component of electoral decisions, party identification is generally felt to be of greater durability and more consistent impact than most other relevant political attitudes. In addition, party identification is seen as having certain qualities that distinguish it and its effects from other feelings within people's panoply of attitudes toward politics: party loyalties are more often than not inherited from one's parents, party identification has a certain stability across time (and may increase in intensity with age under certain conditions), partisanship is believed to substantially influence attitudes about political issues and candidates and voting choices are typically highly consistent with party identification.[12]

Multiple discontinuities and other special factors relating to the development of Japan's democratic party system has made the nature of party identification in contemporary Japan a topic of special interest. Have the differences between Japan's pre-World War II and postwar party systems been instrumental in influencing patterns in contemporary party loyalties? Did the changes in party labels in the first decade after the war visibly influence the development of partisan feelings among persons who lived in this period? And, does the dependence of most Japanese parties on outside groups and candidate's machines for electoral support mobilization affect the development of party loyalties?

Party identification in Japan does in fact reflect some of the aspects of that country's recent party system development and the current characteristics of party electoral practices, as can be seen in the following findings.

Socialization of Partisanship. Party loyalties are learned by pre-adults in Japan, as has been indicated by research to be the case for youths in other places. Nevertheless, learning of affective loyalties to parties may begin at a later age in Japan than in some other countries, while accelerating dramatically during the teen-aged years (Karube 1975). In a study of youths in Tokyo in the early 1960s, young persons of the age of 15 were predominantly apolitical in their replies to a question soliciting their feelings of liking toward particular parties. Only 23 percent of those interviewed in this age group indicated positive affective feelings toward any party. Moreover, while the percentage of apoliticals did decline subsequently during the teen-aged years, the ratio of apoliticals was greater than that for persons who liked parties until the age of 19. Presumably affective feelings toward parties develop in Japan as young people approach the age of their majority and the realm of politics takes on more concrete meaning, rather than being very prominent at an earlier age.[13]

One possible cause of these patterns could be low saliency of parties within political communications in the home. The levels for remembered parental partisanship and remembered parental interest are dramatically lower in Japan than in the United States.[14] One obvious reason that parties could be less salient in Japan is the diminished emphasis on parties in election campaigns, particularly before the emergence of important partisan consumer and inflation issues in the 1970s. The discontinuities in party system development mentioned already might also depress levels of parental attachments and in this way weaken the transmission of party attachments within the family.

Contemporary Japanese youths in an important number of cases still learn their party loyalties from their parents, even though levels of remembered parental partisanship are generally low in Japan. But here, too, there are some important

distinctive patterns according to the Japanese findings. On one hand, a study of parent-child pairs in Japan in 1967 indicated conformity figures that seem comparable with those for inter-generational partisanship transmission elsewhere (Miyake 1970).[14] However, these data were from interviews which focused on socialization effects among children in the 1960s, while information from interviews with persons from older and younger cohorts at earlier points in time actually indicates sharp discontinuities across generations in partisan preferences (Karube 1975). Thus, sharp differences can be seen between persons in their twenties in the 1960s and people in their 40s, who collectively constituted a substantial part of the parental generation for persons in their 20s. Since people in their 40s had been socialized just before World War II, it seems reasonable that some of the differences in partisanship between them and the younger cohort reflect the effects of changes in party alternatives and political environment which distinguish the socialization experiences of these two groups. Moreover, these discontinuities between one parental generation and a corresponding child generation suggest the presence of important discontinuities in transmission of party loyalties during some periods of time in Japan despite the apparent presence of greater consistency in recent years.[15]

There is also some interesting information from Japan on the effects of familial influence on family members which indicates higher levels of family homogeneity at election time than are indicated by the cross-generational agreement findings (Miyake 1967). This could mean that the electoral situation results in levels of cues about parties and perhaps even higher levels of consistency than is the case in the parental family context in general. Unfortunately, there are too many unknown potential variables to make too much of this possibility, however.

Levels and Intensity of Party Identification. Applying Converse's (1969)

model of the development of party identification within nations, somewhat lower levels and intensities of party loyalties could be anticipated in Japan in comparison with countries having more stable political histories. Major discontinuities in party system development, such as those present in Japan in 1940-45 and 1945-55 could have led to lapses in party loyalties, breakdowns in inter-generational transmission and delays in renewed learning which could still be visible in the attitudes of persons interviewed in the 1960s and early 1970s. The delayed entry of women into the electorate could also affect the nature of partisan loyalties in Japan by depressing levels of attachment among women who were already middle aged when they acquired the vote.

Various studies of partisanship in Japan indicate the plausibility of the discontinuities hypothesis. There are thus fewer intense followers of political parties in Japan than in the more stable United States and Britain (Miyake 1967, Kohei 1970). Overall levels of party identification are also lower in Japan than is the case in those two countries (Miyake 1967, Kohei 1970).[16] These differences seem most attributable to party system discontinuities between 1940 and 1955, as well as to the delayed enfranchisement of women, given the flatness of party loyalties across the life span in Japan (Miyake 1970).[17] However, political parties could be less salient in Japan for other reasons, and Japanese could simply feel less affect toward politics than people in some other countries, with resulting lower intensities in party loyalties.[18]

Partisanship Consistency Across Time and Voting Decisions. Party identification theory assumes that mass partisan loyalties are typically fairly stable over the life span, even where persons deviate from their customary partisanship in voting decisions in particular elections. While systematically comparable data are not readily available from many other nations, existing

evidence suggests that roughly 80 to 90 percent of persons in the American and selected European electorates maintain stable identifications over periods of time of between two and four years.[19] The one study of stability conducted by a Japanese scholar indicates that 83 percent of the average of persons in Japan supported the same party across a four month period in the 1960s (Miyake 1967). If the Japanese and other countries' cross-time consistency rates are compared in terms of standard units, partisanship actually seems somewhat unstable in Japan. Putting this differently, there was a 17 percent defection rate in Japan over a brief time interval in contrast with about the same rate of defection over much longer intervals elsewhere; over a longer period of time Japanese partisans could thus be expected to defect in even greater proportions than those elsewhere assuming a stable rate of defection. Obviously, the matter can not be pursued further at this point, given the absence of data collected at longer time intervals in Japan. But the possibility that party loyalties are somewhat more unstable in Japan should be raised, since this would clearly "fit" the assumed effects of multiple discontinuities in party system development and an overall pattern of fairly weak party loyalties.[20] (Interestingly, party support was more consistent across panels in the case of supporters of Japan's Socialist Party than it was for followers of the Liberal Democrats or the middle-of-the-road Democratic Socialists. These patterns in turn correlate intriguingly with the reputedly greater mobilization of support by candidates in the latter two parties, in contrast with the reported higher level of emphasis on party-run campaigns among the Japan Socialists.)[21]

Information on consistency between party identification and voting choices adds some additional light to this picture. Japanese partisans seen to vote their

identifications at a fairly high rate. Data from a national sample indicates that 86 percent of the partisans of different parties voted for the party of their preference in a national election in the 1960s (Miyake 1970). Similar findings of high consistency exist in many local studies (Kansei 1968, Kansei 1971, Ogawa 1975). Since both party loyalties and voting choice were typically measured in the same interview, it is possible that some persons answering questions about party identification were actually reporting their contemporary voting intentions. (Presumably a comparable "pull" on the part of electoral choices could also explain the seemingly low cross-time stability of partisanship in Japan, since second wave party identification was measured after an election in the case of the panel study cited earlier.)

The Issue Content of Party Loyalties. The link between people's partisan preferences and their issue attitudes is always a complex one. Issue attitudes may be influenced by party loyalties, issue opinions may lead to changes in partisanship or temporary defection from traditional identifications or issue attitudes may not be linked with party objects in voters' minds, even though the parties themselves take positions on issues. Indeed, party loyalties could be more closely linked with diffuse images and other kinds of perceptions of the parties than with specific issue content.

There are many studies of political behavior in Japan which actually show that partisanship and issue attitudes are inter-related. A positive correlation between conservative-progressive issue attitude scales and party support in some findings has already been noted above. However, what is probably most striking about the Japanese findings on the issue attitudes-partisanship link is the extent of deviation of partisans in their issue attitudes in some cases. Thus,

while supporters of the different parties do conform to an important degree to their parties' issue postures, there are still between 42 and 64 percent "defection" rates--situations where partisans hold opinions espoused by other parties than the one they support--with regard to such central issues as the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty and other important national issues (Miyake 1970, Kohei 1974).[22]

From the extent of these deviations between party support and voter issue positions, it can be inferred that partisanship in Japan is substantially lacking in issue content even though some members of the Japanese electorate are in fact consistent in their issue positions and partisanship. Interestingly, other kinds of data demonstrate that Japanese do have diffuse images of the different parties, including the one that they support.[23] For example, when asked directly about the reasons for their party support, Japanese say they are more attracted to a party's general "principles" or such diffuse attributes, as "purity," "dependability," "cleanliness," "freshness," "honesty," "effectiveness" and "opposition style" (Karube 1975). Attraction to party candidates and leaders is also mentioned, along with feelings that the other parties are simply "bad," or reports of the effect of membership in organized groups and exposure to community and friends' influence. Information from open-ended questions about liking and disliking political parties and the replies to questions also confirm the presence of diffuse imagery (Miyake 1967, Miyake 1970). (Interestingly, negative party images are rather more common in Japan relative to positive feelings than is the case for the United States!)

Voting Choice Behavior in a Personalized Society. American studies of mass political behavior employing the psychological or attitudinal approach usually distinguish between the effects on electoral choice of long-term

attitudes, i.e., party identification and social group partisan norms, and middle-term or short-term influences such as issue attitudes and candidate perceptions (Campbell 1960, Converse 1975). Generally, party loyalties are seen as constituting the major influence on the vote, with candidate and issue attitudes producing at times decisions where partisans deviate from their long-term ties in particular electoral settings. Interestingly, little has been done to actually test these assumptions about the role of long- and short-term attitudes in voting behavior outside of the United States.

Partisanship vs. Candidate Attraction in Voting Choices. Because individual local and parliamentary candidates are believed to play such a large role in support mobilization in Japanese elections there has been great systematic attention to the role of candidate attitudes in voting behavior in Japan. Over the past thirty years Japanese social scientists and commercial pollsters have repeatedly queried voters with regard to the simple dominance of "party" or "candidate" in their electoral choices. Since this question has been used with only slight variations in literally hundreds of studies, a considerable amount of data exist portraying the role of these two basic motivations across time and elections. Generally, candidate attractions have been more important in voters' perceptions of their own motivations than party attitudes (Komei Senkyo Remmei, 1958, 1961, 1964, 1967, 1970, 1973; Kohei 1970). By itself this is an important finding, since the importance of candidate in voting choices indicates short-term attitudes and situational variables play an important role in Japanese electoral choice. (However, the limited array of choices in the standard question item used does prevent discovery of links which might exist between the more salient short-term factors and long-term attitudes.)

Cross-level variations in the importance of these two motivations, "party" and "candidate" are also extremely interesting. Party attitudes have been dominant in voting choices in Japan's Upper House (House of Councillors) elections, as well as being more important in House of Representatives elections choices than in local election voting behavior. The causal factor for these differences seems to be the size of population included in election districts at the different levels. The House of Councillors districts have the largest numbers of enfranchised voters, House of Representatives districts are next in size--and, importantly, "party" as a motivation has increased in importance over time following the population explosion in many suburban districts--while local election districts are much smaller in numbers of electors in all cases but prefectural gubernatorial elections. People living in rural districts in Japan, where electoral constituencies have markedly fewer enfranchised persons, have also traditionally voted more on the basis of candidate, while residents of the populous metropolitan areas usually have voted more on the basis of party. Thus, candidate attractions are strongest and party appeals are weakest where districts are "smaller," and traditional methods of gathering votes through personal ties and community endorsements are more effective. In contrast, party attitudes become more important as districts increase in size and traditional methods of voter organization become less relevant and/or national symbols become more important.

At least one study in Japan has used separate questions to query people's attitudes toward respectively parties and candidates rather than the "either/or" questions used in most Japanese research. The results of this study are extremely important, since the change in question format permitted much more satisfactory measurement of the complexity of motivations affecting voting choice behavior.

Using Michigan items adapted to the Japanese setting, Ichiro Miyake and his colleagues (1967) found that party identification was in fact the strongest single influence on voting choices in national, prefectural and local elections in a suburban city in Kyoto prefecture! The results in this instance are extremely interesting, since it is a well known fact that question wording can affect response patterns. Unfortunately, the setting was sufficiently urban that party attitudes might be the dominant response pattern even using the simple dichotomized question used in most Japanese studies. (Interestingly, candidate attractions taken cumulatively, i.e., the sum of the individual correlations for the effects of attitudes toward each one of several different specific candidates, also outweighed party loyalties in importance.)

The Attitudinal Influences on Voting Choice. The importance of candidate attitudes in Japanese voting behavior is consequently abundantly clear. A number of scholars have also presented interesting and valuable analyses of the amalgam of attitudinal forces which affect voting choices in addition to candidate attractions. Some of these studies unfortunately have not included party loyalties in their analyses, and either rely on party images as a surrogate or neglect the influence of partisanship altogether. These omissions qualify the findings of these studies; in addition, they have usually neglected to include candidate attitudes. At the same time their results, typically involving multivariate analyses using Professor Hayashi's statistical models, help increase understanding of the variety of influences involved in Japanese electoral choice behavior.[24]

Most of these multivariate analyses of attitudes and voting choice behavior in Japan are from the work of Miyake and associates (Miyake 1967) or various

writings by social scientists affiliated with the Japan Broadcasting Corporation's Institute for Public Opinion Research. The studies in question examine some combination of the effects on voting choices of such variables as people's perceived economic situation, political cynicism, conservative-progressive issue attitude scales and specific political issue opinions. Demographic factors, especially age and occupation, are also included as variables. Studies of this genre typically show that demographic variables, mainly age and occupation, and the conservative-progressive issue attitudes scale, along with attitudes on governmental responsibility for inflation constitute the factors most closely linked with party support or the party vote. Political cynicism, while being associated to some degree with support for parties other than the Liberal Democrats (especially the Japan Communists and the Clean Government Party, and to an important, though lesser degree, the Japan Socialists) is less important to voting choices; perception of one's current economic situation is also a weak area of motivation in voting behavior (Kohei 1972, Kohei 1974). In some of these studies, the effect of traditional-modern values is also examined, with this factor being of generally lower importance to vote choice than demographic variables and issue attitudes or conservative-progressive attitude scales. Finally, where party images have been included in analysis of voting choices, a fairly strong relationship has been shown between party imagery and support for the two major parties, the Japan Socialists and the Liberal Democrats. However, party imagery is less important to choices of minor parties (Kohei 1970). This kind of finding concurs in an interesting way with recent European studies (Butler and Stokes 1969; Sani 1975), which show that large parties tend to attract support in different manners from small parties.

Indigenous Components of Voting Choice: Community Endorsements and Personal Influence. Anthropological and journalistic studies of Japanese elections often report many kinds of electoral support seeking techniques which depend on mobilization of existing social structural relationships in the search for votes. Endorsements from local community elites and personal requests by community influentials, work colleagues and superiors, neighbors, relatives and family members often seem to be as important in Japanese elections (especially those in the rural districts) as the public campaign appeals made in meetings or in the mass media.

Survey research findings from Japan vary considerably in their implications about the effects of these various informal techniques of support mobilization. The variations reflect both differences in specific question content, as well as probably some distinctive patterns found in different types of elections and different kinds of election districts. Findings from Clean Election League studies indicate that informal efforts to influence the vote are most common in local elections and in rural constituencies, whereas in most instances they fall off in frequencies as election districts increase in size in the cities and in national elections in general. (In one important case, membership in candidate support associations--these are clubs set up by candidates to produce synthetic human networks that function as support bases like the natural networks of more traditional settings--several studies indicate higher frequencies of this kind of behavior in the cities than in rural districts.) Within these clear patterns reflecting the variations in traditional vote gathering techniques in different electoral situations, there are some marked variations in the marginal frequencies for the different kinds of informal behaviors reported in

different studies. In one study (Shimane 1960) over 80 percent of the public reported experiencing informal contacts. The relevant question was prefaced by a statement to the effect that these contacts were not indicative of thoughtless conformity. In contrast, where questions bluntly ask about such experiences without the addition of a face-saving preamble such as this, the ratios of persons reporting such experiences is much lower.

Systematic studies of the perceived utility and impact of different kinds of communications in Japan vary in their assessment of the role of informal political communications. Many studies indicate that the mass media were viewed as being more useful than informal discussions and suggestions regarding voting choices (Akuto 1971). In contrast, some studies suggest that informal communications are as important, or nearly as important to electoral decisions in voters' perceptions as media communications or the public aspects of campaigns (such as speeches and election administration information sheets) (Miyake 1967).[25] However, these findings apply mainly to local and prefectural level elections, and public campaign communications and media exposure appear to consistently be most important in national elections.

Studies employing direct measures of the effect of influence communications in contrast with their perceived usefulness also vary substantially in their results. Compliance levels are fairly low according to Clean Election League findings where people are asked direct questions about their conformity or non-conformity to requests for their vote. For example, only 13 percent of rural residents and 5 percent of persons living in the city reportedly conformed to community recommendations in the case of a national study conducted at the time of recent local elections (Miyake 1970). (Slightly different results are shown

in research from specific rural areas, with as many as 37 percent of older people, the category where conformity is the greatest, indicating that they followed the cues of community endorsements (Aiba 1971).) However, where the question of conformity is approached slightly less directly and the voting choices of persons in different unions which endorsed specific candidates are examined, conformity rates as high as 97 percent were recorded (Aiba 1967).

Indirect analyses of the effects of informal communications processes using aggregate election data are also found among the works of Japanese social scientists concerned with mass voting behavior. A number of studies have been made showing high concentrations of the vote for particular candidates in specific geographical areas within voting constituencies. Support in House of Representative elections, in particular, is often locally concentrated and particular candidates' support rates can go as high as 80 to 90 percent in their core support areas (Tomita 1975, Miyake 1970).

Electoral Change in Contemporary Japan

Sensitivity to dimensions of development and change is indirectly present in much Japanese research on political behavior in the form of attention to the voting patterns of persons living in respectively "modern" and "traditional" sectors of Japanese society, such as in urban and rural districts. The impact of modern or traditional value structures is also examined in relationship to party support and voting choices. In addition, direct attention to the phenomenon of contemporary change is present in a number of studies where ongoing, secular changes in party support over the past several years are analyzed in the context of changing population patterns and public issues.

Specific Patterns of Change in Partisanship and Political Attitudes. Several patterns of change in preferences and attitudes can be noted from recent diachronic analyses by Japanese scholars. The most visible of these dynamic trends is the overall shift in support away from the Liberal Democratic Party in favor of the opposition parties which has taken place over the past two decades. In addition, preferences within the opposition camp have changed markedly in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In this process support for the Japan Socialist Party has shown a secular pattern of decline somewhat similar to that for the Liberal Democrats, while identifications with other opposition parties have increased in frequency (Aiba 1971).

Paralleling shifts in support for specific parties have been important changes in other political attitudes. Somewhat similarly to the case for the United States, sizable increases in the frequencies of non-partisanship have been observed in Japan in recent years (Aiba 1971). The proportion of answers indicating "no party support" have traditionally been somewhat higher in Japanese surveys in contrast with findings from such countries as Britain and the United States. Importantly, persons in the apolitical category have also increased in Japan from around ten percent in the early 1960s to roughly 20 percent in the early and middle 1970s. Non-partisan tendencies have been growing most among youths in recent years, in contrast with the earlier tendencies for older persons--presumably reflecting the effects of the wartime and early postwar discontinuities in party alternatives--to manifest the highest levels of apolitical attitudes. Also notable is a sharply increasing tendency toward non-partisan feelings among trade union members.

Attitudes reflecting political dissatisfaction and political cynicism have

also increased in importance in Japan in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Increasingly persons interviewed in the Institute for Mathematical Statistics semi-annual Tokyo survey indicate that they do not believe the government or the Diet adequately reflect people's opinions (Nishihira 1974). Similar negative trends over time are shown in levels of positive answers to questions on "satisfaction with national politics" (Kohei 1974).

Analyses of the Shifting Patterns of Party Support. The shifts in party support away from the Liberal Democratic Party and the Japan Socialists toward endorsement of the minority Japan Communists, Clean Government Party and Democratic Socialists plausibly reflect several causal influences. The shifts in partisanship have been especially dramatic in Japan's urban districts and rapidly growing suburban "doughnut" bedroom communities; thus, population movement may be one cause of the shifts in party support (Nishihira 1972, Soma 1969, Ogawa 1975). (Actually, none of the studies systematically trace the relationship between population change in the suburbs and movements in party support, even though this tie is clearly present from their findings at both the national aggregate level and in examples of specific districts.[26]) Increased feelings of political discontent seem also to be linked with support for the minority opposition parties according to the tendencies in the general patterns of these attitudes reported for different social groups (e.g., youths). Moreover, some studies show a decline over time in the predictive power of demographic correlates of partisanship such as age and occupational status; correspondingly, the role of issue attitudes and evaluations of governmental performance on the price inflation issue have increased (Kohei 1972). From the various trends, it can be seen that two major patterns of change have likely occurred: as population movement has

resulted in shifts of people away from rural areas or traditional parts of the cities, the surrogate variables for exposure and susceptibility to community influences (old age, being a farmer or small enterpriser) have become less potent variables. Simultaneously, as the "spill over" effects of high growth policies have taken their toll, visible in the concerns over pollution, services and inflation, national issues have become more prominent factors in partisanship.

Voting Behavior and Mass Political Attitudes in Japan

The political attitudes of the Japanese citizenry reflect the legacy of historical experience as well as effects of the contemporary socio-cultural setting. Party identification in Japan is apparently somewhat weaker than the comparable attitude in systems having more stable political histories. Simultaneously, a heavy emphasis in Japanese election campaigns on individual candidates' support seeking efforts adds to the legacy of irregular patterns of development to further de-emphasize parties in the perceptions and affections of the Japanese voter. As Japan moves into the post-industrial era of environmental problems and inflation, however, the role of partisan issues in voting seems on the rise.

Japan's own version of a socio-political cleavage is quite muted and complex in comparison to the indicators visible on some other political horizons. There are no deep religious schisms in contemporary Japan. Union organizations--the well-spring of class sentiments in many lands--actually socialize as many white collar employees to support leftist parties as they mobilize blue collar voters. These cross-cutting patterns in partisanship is reflected to some degree in issue attitudes, as well as correlating in interesting ways with preferences for traditional vs. modern normative positions.

With its mobilized party followerships and heavy emphasis on attachments to candidates, Japanese political behavior appears close to the mass political cultures of contemporary Italians and French than it does to the political predilections of contemporary Americans and British. However, as Japan moves into a post-industrial de-emphasis on party labels and increased sensitivity to questions of performance, some patterns of convergence can be seen between Japanese political culture and the general political culture of the West.

1. The survey was sponsored and supported by the Social Science Research Council with help from the research scholar exchange program of the Japan Foundation. The field portion of the survey was undertaken in Japan in the fall and winter of 1974-75. During this period the investigators identified scholars working on political behavior research projects and collected copies of their published and unpublished written materials. After return to the United States, the findings of the over two hundred books and articles collected in the field were analyzed and summarized. What appeared as the most important findings on voting behavior are summarized here; a second report from this survey, which will deal with political culture and political participation, will appear later. Additional bibliographical information can be obtained from the authors.

2. The figures used in these comparisons were taken from the American Political Science Association, PS, Summer 1976, p. 322; Nihon Seiji Gakkai (The Japan Political Science Association), Nihon Seiji Gakkai Kaiin Meibo (Japan Political Science Membership Register), Tokyo: 1972; and, The 1973 Encyclopedia Brittanica Yearbook, p. 322.

3. The figures we have reported here are inevitably approximate, since collection of bibliographical information by the JPSA was a voluntary process. Indeed, we found in the vicinity of thirty percent more materials each year in the political behavior field than were listed in the JPSA sources. Also, we noted mis-classifications of bibliographical entries in a number of cases, which could have distorted the importance of different research categories within political science. However, the proportion of writings in different categories across fields was so stable across the years we studied that our confidence in the general validity of our findings was maintained.

4. The Clean Election League (Komei Senkyo Remmei) was set up early in the postwar era to coordinate efforts at publicizing clean election practices and to study election practices. Over the 1950s and 1960s the League sponsored several hundred local and national studies of election communication and political behavior, the findings of many of which are reported in Bradley Richardson, The Political Culture of Japan (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1974). In 1976 the League merged with another organization to form the Society for the Advancement of Clean Elections (Akariu Senkyo Suishin Kyokai).

5. Japanese newspapers and press associations have also sponsored many studies of public opinion and voting behavior, and the results of these studies have been valuable to the scholars interested in national trends as well as stimulating university research on political behavior by making large amounts of findings available for analysis.

6. Although we did not make an independent and detailed study of the Japanese academic journal system, certain of its features inevitably came to our attention through our survey of political behavior research. They are as follows: all Japanese scholarly institutions publish journals and in larger universities individual faculties and institutes each publish one or more journals; publication schedules are often although not always

irregular--indeed many journals could better be designated as occasional papers series; most journals publish the works of members of the respective faculties without a review process; and, diffusion of journals is a very irregular process-thus The National Diet Library lacked issues of some journals even though that institution certainly has the best collection of journals in Japan.

7. Joji Watanuki, Hajime Shinohara, Rei Shiratori and others have been prominent as contributors to the media and intellectual journals. Watanuki has also been associated with the Clean Election League efforts. Other academic scholars or Japan Broadcasting Association staff members, such as Hiroshi Akuto, Shinsaku Kohei and Kazuto Kojima have made important contributions to both general and scholarly publications. In some cases, the target readerships or audiences of media commentaries on political behavior have been the general public, and the main function of communication of political behavior research findings has been one of general education. (Presumably these reports also provided some stimulation of awareness among other scholars of the content of particular research enterprises.) Elsewhere, materials presenting fairly detailed findings have been reported. In the important intellectual journals and in publications of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation's research program, writings both with and without a more formal concern for relating findings to other scholarly enterprises and theory exist.

8. The different research groups have different origins and take different forms. Some groups were established on the basis of common interests of persons within one university or one city, or even throughout the country; other groups involve links between senior scholars and their students; still others have been based on connections between Japanese scholars and foreign research enterprises. The main groups active in the period we studies were:

Group	Members
a. The Uji Election Levels Study Group (Kyoto University)	Ichiro Miyake, Junichi Aiba, Tomio Kinoshita
b. The Kyoto Citizens Consciousness Study (Doshisha, Kyoto, Kyoto Industrial and Osaka Universities)	Ichiro Miyake, Junichi Aiba, Michio Muramatsu, Takeyoshi Sakamoto, Osamu Kodaira, Tomio Kinoshita
c. The Cross-National Participation Study Japanese Team (Tokyo, Jochi, Kyoto, Saitama, Gumma Universities)	Hajime Ikeuchi, Joji Watanuki, Ichiro Miyake, Jun'ichi Kyogoku, Hiroshi Akuto, Tomio Kinoshita, Hirohisa Suzuki, Ikuo Takeuchi, Tokuro Tazaki, Akira Tsujimura
d. The Political Culture Replication Team (Keio, Komazawa and Kyoto Industrial Universities)	Kikuo Nakamura, Osamu Kodaira, Sueo Kamijo, Shinji Sudo, Teruo Tonooka, Sunori Soneya

e. The Osaka Studies Team (Kansai and Kobe Universities)	Ryoichi Kambayashi, Masami Yamakawa, Eiji Hara, Toshio Hazama, Tomuyoshi Hirai, Tadashi Iyasu, Teruo Matsumoto, Masahiro Hishida, Schoichi Itonami
f. The Hokkaido Study (Hokkaido University)	Koichi Ogawa, Toshio Araki and others

(It should be noted that the fluidity across times observable in some of these groups may have caused us to omit one or two names from the member lists.)

9. Criticizing the frequent political sociological assumption that social cleavages naturally erupt as political dividing lines, Sartori argues in various writings that party and group mobilization of support is the definitive influence on patterns of partisanship among persons in different social groups. See, for example, Giovanni Sartori, "The Sociology of Parties: A Critical Review," in Otto Stammer (eds.), Party Systems, Party Organizations and the Politics of New Masses (Berlin: Institut fur politische Wissenschaft an der Freien Universitat Berlin, 1968), pp. 1-25.

10. Akuto (1975) also examines the effects on partisanship of such personality ("life style" in Akuto's terminology) characteristics as authoritarian dominance-submission, aggressiveness-passiveness, group orientedness and non-group orientedness and cooperativeness-independence. These personality traits are generally much less predictive of partisanship than positions on the traditional-modern value scale.

11. Since questions sought to identify the least liked parties, they were relatively insensitive to gradings in sentiments toward more proximate yet still disliked parties. For this reason, questions using different formats, such as the thermometer questions employed in recent Michigan research and in numerous West German studies might indicate greater divisions among adherants of Japan's Liberal Democratic and Japan Socialist parties than these findings would suggest.

It is also worth noting that attitudes toward the Clean Government Party actually constitute a second dimension in Japanese partisan cleavage patterns. While the attitudes of Clean Government Party supporters place that party in a center position between the Liberal Democrats and the leftist parties, attitudes toward the Clean Government Party by partisans of other camps place it as universally disliked on a second, religious party dimension.

In addition to indicating that the partisan cleavage in Japan does have some psychological content, these patterns of feelings of liking and dislike indicate some ultimate boundaries to the expansion of support for the Japan Communists and the Clean Government Party.

12. These ideas stem from many sources beginning with Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954) through Philip E. Converse, "Public Opinion and Voting Behavior," in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, Handbook of Political Science (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1975), Volume 4, pp. 75-170.

13. Secondary analysis of a 1968 study by Tadao Okamura and his own findings have led Joseph Massey to observe that levels of party support among pre-adult Japanese are quite similar to those among Americans in similar age groups and that consciousness of parties begins earlier than is indicated by the findings cited in the main text. However, the question used in the Okamura study sought to identify the probable voting choices of young Japanese, had they been able to vote, while Massey asked about "support." The evidence we have cited is based on a question about liking a political party! Probably the best conclusion from these different kinds of information is that young Japanese are cognitively aware of parties at levels comparable to those of young Americans and others within comparable age groups, while importantly, affective ties develop somewhat later. See Joseph A. Massey, Youth and Politics in Japan (New York: Lexington Books, 1976), pp. 79-80.

13a. The frequencies of persons who didn't know their father's or mother's party loyalties in the United States and Japan in the late 1960s were:

"Don't know..."	U.S.	Japan
Father's ID	9%	52%
Mother's ID	12%	63%

The frequencies are based on the total numbers of persons interviewed in the University of Michigan's 1968 American presidential election study, and a comparable group of persons interviewed in Japan at the time of the 1967 House of Representatives election in a project headed by Robert E. Ward. The percentages we have reported were calculated from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research codebooks for these studies.

14. The data source cited by Miyake was actually a re-analysis of the 1967 survey conducted in Japan by Robert E. Ward and Akira Kubota of the University of Michigan.

Lest the information on levels and rate of transmission appear contradictary, it should be remembered that transmission rates are a percentage figure (or a statistic of agreement) in which the basis for calculation is the actual or remembered partisanship of the parent(s). This being the case, it is possible to have comparable rates of transmission based on quite different levels of parental partisanship. However, it also appears that by the late 1960s even the base figures in Japan were closer to those for the American case where specifically pre-adults and their parents, i.e., persons in the late 20s and early 40s, were concerned.

15. These examples of inter-generational differences in party support tendencies among persons in specific social groups are representative of those from many other studies, including the systematic results of newspaper opinion polls from the past three decades (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1976).

16. Comparative comments are based on information on party loyalties in the United States and Britain from Michigan ICPSR codebooks. Generally, the Miyake questions and those from the other countries appear comparable. (However, there are still sometimes important non-comparabilities in questions even within one country. For example, Miyake (1970) shows information from a "deviant" party identification question indicating proportionately high levels of intense partisans in Japan, despite evidence to the contrary in other sources.)

17. Our logic is simple. Were there to be increased intensities of party loyalties among older cohorts in Japan as in the other countries, this should lead to overall higher levels in party identification among the Japanese electorate relative to those in the other countries.

18. Also, the exceedingly high levels of political cynicism found in Japan (discussed in our second report) could be a contributing factor.

19. These figures are from still incomplete analyses conducted by one of the authors of trends in panel survey findings from Japan, the United States, Britain, Netherlands and West Germany. Actually the Western patterns are themselves prone to important variations. Higher levels of across-panel stability are found in the United States and Great Britain than are visible in the Netherlands and Germany.

20. The only similar patterns of short-term instability could be seen in West Germany, another nation which had important discontinuities in political party development within the lifetimes of many of its contemporary voters.

21. Japanese survey research is also replete with examples of the greater importance of party attitudes to supporters of the leftist parties.

22. Other studies by Shinsaku Kohei of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation Institute for Public Opinion Research show similar levels of defection where even highly salient issue attitudes are concerned. The relationship between the progressive-conservative issue attitude scale and partisanship shows similar patterns of defection (Kohei 1970), even though there is also clearly some differentiation between partisans of different parties linked with positions on this scale.

23. However, in contrast with American research, party images are typically not seen as a separate force from party identification in analyses of voting choice behavior. (See Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, "The Concept of Party Image and its Importance for the Southern Electorate," in M. Kent Jennings and L. Harmon Ziegler, The Electoral Process (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 139-174.)

24. Professor Chikio Hayashi of the Mathematical Statistics Research Institute is the author of several major works on statistics in Japanese, in addition to being co-director of the important "national character" study.

25. The questions in both of the sources we have cited solicited respondents' evaluations of the usefulness in their voting decisions of different communications media. Differences in question content were probably a major factor in the differences in findings. In the Clean Election League Study used by Akuto, there was only one reference to informal communications in the closed question alternatives, while in the Miyake study there were ten alternatives referring to informal communications practices!

26. In a separate study, "Stability and Change in Japanese Voting Behavior," to appear in the Journal of Asian Studies, Richardson has established the presence of these relationships on a somewhat more direct basis than the Japanese findings reported here.

AIBA, Junichi. (1967) "Shakai Shudan to Tohyo Kodo (Social Groups and Voting Behavior)," Jinbungaku 92, pp. 24-42.

AIBA, Junichi. (1971) "Seinen no Seiji Ishiki (The Political Attitudes of Youth)," Shakaigaku Hyoron 22, pp. 15-30.

AKUTO, Hiroshi. (1971) "Political Process and Public Opinion: Voting Behavior and Mass Communication," in H. Eguchi and H. Ichinohe (ed.) International Studies of Broadcasting. NHK Radio and Television Culture Research Institute, private publication.

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